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feelings would have possessed the noble soul of William Ladd, who spent his little fortune, large in those days, in the cause of peace, if he had seen one of the richest men whom the world has ever known building a palace, at a cost of a million and a half, to house the High Court of Nations, for which this greatest of the early apostles of peace argued with extraordinary force and eloquence in the days when such an institution as the Hague tribunal was considered a pure chimera?

There is much difficult work, certainly, to be done yet, before war and the war spirit are brought into entire public dishonor and eliminated from human character and human institutions. The old barbarism is continually reappearing in measure and reasserting itself, and has to be met anew squarely and resolutely. It is tremendously alive just now, and with its seductions and huge armaments is ready to overthrow, if possible, the splendid upward movement of humanity disclosed in the triumphs of the peace cause in the last three quarters of a century. But in spite of the obstacles and temporary reverses, the cause of the world's peace will go on conquering and to conquer. What has been done, and done with extraordinary swiftness in recent years, gives the fullest assurance that the time is not far away when war will be politically, economically and morally impossible. That is the note of encouragement which comes from this anniversary, to greater faithfulness and larger service in the years just before us.

Dominating the Pacific.

In one of his Western speeches President Roosevelt has declared that in this century the Pacific Ocean must pass under the influence of the United States. His reported language was: "This, the greatest of the oceans, is one which during the century opening must pass under American influence, and, as inevitably happens when a great effort comes, it means that a great burden of responsibility accompanies the effort. A nation cannot be great without paying the price of greatness, and only a craven nation will object to paying that price."

What did the President wish us to understand by this and other similar things which he has said? Did he mean that the domination of the Pacific would come simply through superiority of peaceful commerce? or that the seventy millions of square miles of this immense ocean must be made the "sphere of influence" of the United States, in the diplomatic sense of the expression? or that our "destiny" would force us by-and-by to take possession of all its shores and make it an inland sea?

We confess that it is difficult to find any very intelligible idea behind the utterance. It was possibly just an expression of feeling of expansiveness and bigness for his country, or of the naval move-

ments of his mind, as he looked out upon the great ocean which led him to exclaim: "What a fine place for a navy!"

The President cannot have meant that the Pacific would "pass under the influence of the United States" merely by the development of a commerce superior to that of any or all of the other nations. No such thing is possible. The development of our commerce to no matter how great an extent means at the same time the enlargement of the commerce of the other nations lying on the Pacific shores. We cannot sell to these countries without in the long run buying to the same extent of them. If the larger part of the Pacific carrying trade should ever come to be done in American bottoms, this would not in the least create domination. The ships of other nations would still have their rights there, and nobody would think of excluding them or in the least interfering with them. An attempt to gain supremacy by crippling the commerce of other Pacific countries would in the long run defeat the very end sought. The only way a great and permanent commerce can be built up and maintained is by encouraging the commercial and industrial spirit of other lands as well as of our own. Thus there can never be any such thing as an ultimate commercial domination of any ocean.

It is impossible that the President could have meant that our country should attempt to make the Pacific our "sphere of influence." No greater "fool's errand" could be imagined. This ocean, like all others, is the common highway of the nations, neutralized by the public law of the world. The United States does not own an inch square of it beyond the three-mile limit. The other nations lying on its shores are limited in the same way. Every other inch of it is the common possession of all the powers at the same time. The smallest power has the same rights everywhere on it as the largest. We have no more rights on it than when our first ship crossed it. Any nation attempting therefore to make the ocean in any exclusive sense its "sphere of influence" would thus violate the public rights of the community of nations and have to meet the combined opposition of the other powers.

If the President had in mind—as he certainly did not—that the United States should plan to seize, at some opportune time, one by one all the islands in the Pacific, and such an impossible enterprise should succeed against Great Britain, Russia, Germany, Japan, etc., the case would not be altered in the least as to the public waters of the ocean itself.

What, then, did the President have in mind? It is probable that if there was anything whatever hovering more or less dimly in his thought, it was that a "great effort" should be made by our country to dominate the Pacific by a great navy, for some end or other; for a great navy is the one image which is

always haunting his imagination. But here, too, the enterprise would be conspicuously absurd. To attempt to put on the Pacific a navy sufficiently superior to those of all the other powers, or even of any one of the great naval powers, to enable us to dominate the ocean in any way that would interfere with the rights of others, would be to attempt a most impossible task. England has tried that game a good while in the other hemisphere, but the only result has been to put her into deeper and ever deeper anxiety the bigger and more burdensome her navy grows. If our nation should attempt to become "great" in this way, it would indeed be a heavy price in more senses than one which she would have to pay for "greatness," and she might well forgive herself in advance for being a little "craven" before entering upon a course at whose end loomed huge and terrible failure.

Whatever may have been the meaning of this remarkable oracular utterance of the President, it and others of like tenor have been most regrettable. Mr. Roosevelt says so many sensible and noble things about the country and its interests and duties, that one dislikes to see them largely nullified by the deadening effect of so much impulsive talk about the "civilizing" virtues of a big navy and about a type of "greatness" which has in history proved itself always false and ruinous.

A friend writes us from San Francisco — what we already had ample reason to believe — that the influence of the President and his party on the Pacific coast, with bold speeches of warriors at the banquets and the militaristic utterances of preachers in their pulpits on Sunday, has been anything but in the interests of peace and international good-will, which Mr. Roosevelt had been so splendidly commending before he got out of the Middle West. The friend who writes describes the presence and speeches of the President and his party, with the parades and banquets, as a veritable *boom* for militarism.

The seeming insinuations and covert challenges of the President's speech, of which we have been treating, have produced no additional respect and admiration for our country across the Atlantic, if one may judge from the character of many of the comments that have been made in the European press. Covert disregard and menacing of other nations is even worse than open criticism and disrespect. All the great naval powers will hereafter keep a keener and more suspicious eye on the "greatest of the oceans" than they did before the President spoke.

We do not mean to charge the Chief Magistrate of the nation with having intended to make threats against the public rights of other countries; but a President, of all men, ought to be the first to "abstain from every appearance of evil," in matters where inconsiderate utterances may produce such world-wide and lasting mischief.

The Ninth Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference.

Scarcely any better evidence could be found of the rapid progress of interest in the question of arbitration than the development of the Lake Mohonk Conference, the ninth annual meeting of which was held the last week in May.

The first meeting of the Conference took place in 1895, and was attended by only about sixty-five persons. But few of the men in that first conference had any strong hope of an early large triumph of the principle which they had been called together to discuss. Very able speeches were made, but they were largely from the idealistic point of view. The knowledge which most of the speakers had of what had already been accomplished in the practical work of arbitrating disputes was very meagre. Many of those who came were very timid about connecting themselves in any pronounced way with the movement. They little suspected how ripe the times were.

This year the number in attendance ran up to nearly two hundred and fifty, the proportion of those having accepted Mr. Smiley's invitation being much larger than in former years. The enthusiasm among the guests was also on the whole greater than we have ever before observed in the Conference. This was not due to the superior character of the addresses, for the speaking, though some of it was of unsurpassed quality, was not in the aggregate any better, if as good, as in some former years. It was due to the increased power of the movement, which everybody seemed to feel.

The Conference was presided over by Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State, whose opening address touching some of the facts of arbitration during the year was very interesting and effective. Particularly illuminating and encouraging was his exposition and interpretation of the treaties of arbitration and disarmament between Chile and the Argentine Republic.

The main address of the Conference, if one may make selection, was that of Mr. Penfield, Solicitor of the Department of State, on the Pious Fund Arbitration, for which he had acted as agent for the United States. His exposition of the operation of the Court at the inauguration of its practical work and his interpretation of the bearings of this first case made a great impression on the Conference, and left no doubt in the minds of any that the Hague Court is to exert a power in the world of vast significance.

The other speakers were Dr. Hale, Dr. E. D. Burr, Dr. P. S. Moxom, Dr. B. F. Trueblood, Mr. H. B. F. McFarland of Washington, President Faunce, Edwin D. Mead, Bliss Perry, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, A. Maurice Low, Dr. Lyman Abbott, Professor Braque of Vassar, Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, Hon. S. J. Barrows, Dr. Brown of the Presbyterian Mission Board,